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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CH

SUBJ: WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA NO. 15

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SUMMARY: POLITBURO DECISIONS TO STRIP TENG HSIAO-PING OF HIS TITLES AND TO ELEVATE HUA KUO-FENG TO THE POSTS OF PREMIER AND PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN SEEMED TO CONCLUDE AN IMPORTANT PHASE OF THE CURRENT CRITICISM CAMPAIGN BUT FAILED TO SETTLE ANY OF THE OUTSTANDING POLICY ISSUES. RANKING AMONG THE LEADERS AND FILLING SOME VACANCIES AMONG LEADERSHIP POSITIONS REMAIN IN QUESTION. THE FIRM SUPPORT FOR THE DECISIONS FROM PROVINCIAL LEADERS AND THE PLA AROUND THE COUNTRY-PPARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THEIR PREVIOUS DISASSOCIATION FROM THE CAMPAIGN--SEEMS TO DEMONSTRATE LESS THAN A "VICTORY" FOR THE CAMPAIGN'S PROMOTERS, WHO THEMSELVES HAVE FAILED TO APPEAR. THE DECISIONS, HOWEVER, HAVE PROVIDED SUFFICIENT STABILITY TO EMBARK ON A NEW ROUND OF FORIEGN DIGNITARIES' VISITS TO PEKING IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS AND OCCASIONED THE NORMAL OUTPOURING OF CONGRATULA-TORY MESSAGES, INCLUDING PRESIDENT FORD'S WHICH WAS WELL PUBLICIZED AND PROVIDED THE FIRST DOMESTIC PRC MEDIA MENTION OF THOMAS GATES' APPOINTMENT AS USLO CHIEF. END SUMMARY CONFIDENTIAL

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1. POLITBURO DECIDES TO DROP TENG, ELEVATE HUA

REACTING RAPIDLY TO THE APRIL 5 DISTURBANCES IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE (WR 14), THE POLITBURO, ON THE PROPOSAL OF CHAIRMAN MAO, STRIPPED TENG HSIAO-PING OF ALL BUT HIS PARTY MEMBERSHIP AND ELEVATED HUA KUO-FENG TO THE RANK OF PREMIER AND PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN (HONG KONG 3978). APPARENTLY HAVING

DECIDED THAT TENG'S UNREPRENTANT ATTITUDE COULD NO LONGER BE TOLERATED AND SHOCKED BY THE THREAT TO "STABILITY" CAUSED BY POLITICAL DISRUPTION AND LAWLESSNESS, THE CENTER'S TOP LEADERSHIP SEEMED TO BE IMPOSING ITS WILL ON TENG REGARDLESS OF THE POLICY ISSUES WHICH REMAINED UNMENTIONED AND UNRESOLVED. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

- 2. THE COMPROMISE NATURE OF THE DECISIONS LEFT TENG DEFINED IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS AS A CLASS ENEMY BECAUSE OF HIS "ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTION" WITH THE PEOPLE, YET LEFT HIS PARTY MEMBERSHIP INTACT. HUA WAS ELEVATED TO A PARTY POSITION UNIQUE IN PARTY HISTORY, BUT FURTHER RANKINGS AND FILLING OF VACANCIES WERE NOT REVEALED. THE ELEVATION CLEARLY WAS DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE ANY SPECULATION OVER WHETHER YOUTHFUL WANG HUNG-WEN WOULD CONTINUE TO BE NEXT IN LINE BEHIND THE CHAIRMAN. THE QUICK RALLYING OF PROVINCIAL PARTY AND PLA LEADERSHIP TO SUPPORT THE DECISIONS FIRMLY DEMONSTRATED THAT CONCLUDING THE CAMPAIGN ON TENG WAS MORE POPULAR THAN CARRYING IT OUT. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
- 3. FOLLOWING THE POLITBURO DECISIONS OF APRIL 7, A PEOPLE'S DAILY APRIL 10 EDITORIAL GAVE SOME OFFICIAL EXPLANATION OF THE REGIME'S ACTIONS AND SET VAGUE GUIDANCE FOR CONTINUED CRITICISM OF TENG AND HIS POLICIES (HONG KONG 4099). THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS, HOWEVER PARTICULARLY WHEN COUPLED WITH THE PARTY'S PRESS STORIES ON THE EVENTS, BLACKENED THE REGIME'S CREDIBILITY. PUBLICATION OF THE CRITICS' CHARGES ALSO SEEMS LIKELY TO TOUCH RESPONSIVE CHORDS AROUND THE COUNTRY (HONG KONG 3915). DESCRIPTIONS OF "TENS OF THOUSANDS" OF MILITIAMEN FIGHTING FOR HOURS AGAINST "A SMALL HANDFUL OF CLASS ENEMIES" SEEMED LUDICROUS BEYOND BELIEF. NEVERTHELESS, THE OUTPOURING OF SUPPORT ACROSS THE NATION FOR THE POLITBURO DECISIONS AND THE RALLYING OF ACCLAIM FOR THE HEROIC DEFENDERS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CAPITAL CLEARLY DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE IS NO DIMINUTION OF THE REGIME'S ABILITY TO CONTROL THE MEDIA AND MOBILIZE THE POPULACE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

4. THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP--ABSENTEES NOTABLE

DESPITE LOCAL LEADERSHIP PRESENCE AT RALLIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, MEETINGS BY STATE AND PARTY ORGANS AT THE CENTER TO SUPPORT THE TWO RESOLUTIONS LACKED A FULL CENTRAL LEADERSHIP TURNOUT. IN PARTICULAR, SUCH PRESUMED ANTI-TENG CAMPAIGN PROMOTERS AS YAO WEN-YUAN, WANG HUNG-WEN, CHANG CHUN-CHIAO AND CHIANG CHING HAVE ALL FAILED TO APPEAR SINCE THE DECISIONS WERE ANNOUNCED APRIL 7. THEIR ABSENCE CALLS INTO QUESTION THE "UNANIMOUS" NATURE OF THESE DECISIONS AND LEAVES OPEN TO QUESTION HOW MUCH THIS FACTION GAINED BY

TENG'S REMOVAL AND THE ELEVATION OF HUA KUO-FENG INTO PARTY AND STATE POSITIONS SENIOR TO THEIR OWN (HONG KONG 4147). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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5. IN CONTRAST, REGIME MODERATES AND CULTURAL REVOLUTION REHABILITEES HAVE ALL MADE APPEARANCES SINCE THE DECISIONS WERE ANNOUNCED. MOST NOTABLY, TAN CHEN-LIN, A CHIEF CULTURAL REVOLUTION TARGET, APPEARED APRIL 10; CHU TEH TURNED OUT TO ACCEPT DIPLOMATIC CREDENTIALS; AND LI HSIEN-NIEN, A PRESUMED CAMPAIGN OPPONENT, HAS MADE THREE APPEARANCES SINCE APRIL 7. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

6. PLA SUPPORT

PLA LEADERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY TURNED OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE DECISIONS. SUGGESTING THAT MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THEM MUST HAVE BEEN HEAVY. OF THE 11 MILITARY REGION COMMANDERS, ALL APPEARED EXCEPT FOR PEKING'S CHEN HSI-LIEN AND WUHAN'S YANG TE-CHIH, THE LATTER SENDING A MESSAGE FROM THE HOSPITAL. AS ACTING DEFENSE MINISTER, CHEN'S FAILURE TO APPEAR IS REMARKABLE AND RANKS ALONGSIDE THE NONAPPEARANCE OF THE CAMPAIGN'S PROMOTERS AS A PROMINENT ANOMALY. OF THE MR COMMANDERS WHO DID APPEAR, CANTON'S HSU SHIH-YU WAS MAKING HIS FIRST PUBLIC TURNOUT SINCE JANUARY 29, AND LONG-TROUBLED HAN HSIEN-CHU SHOWED UP WITH TITLE IN LANCHOW FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE HIS ANNOUNCED TRANSFER THERE IN JANUARY, 1974. A CHANG IN THE PEKING MR STRUCTURE WAS REVEALED WITH THE IDENTIFICATION OF CHIN CHI-WEI AS 2ND POLITICAL COMMISSAR. CHIN, A CULTURAL REVOLUTION PURGEE WITH TIES TO TENG HSIAO-PING, HAD BEEN TRANSFERRED TO PEKING LAST DECEMBER. IN HIS PRESENT POSITION, HE REPLACES PEKING PARTY BOSS/POLITBURO MEMBER WU TEH, GIVEN WU'S CURRENT PROMINENT EXPOSURE AS THE MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR ENDING THE TIEN AN MEN RIOTS (WR 14), IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT HE IS TAKING ON ADDITIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES RATHER THAN LOSING MR INFLUENCE. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

7. THE PATTERN OF PLA LEADERSHIP TURNOUTS IN THE PROVINCES AGAIN INDICATED THAT THE MANY CULTURAL REVOLUTION REHABILITEES BROUGHT BACK WHILE TENG HSIAO-PING WAS IN POWER REMAINED, AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT, IN PLACE. THE MOST NOTABLE AMONG THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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WERE THE RANKING POLITICAL COMMISSARS IN THE TSINAN, NANKING, FOOCHOW, SINKIANG AND WUHAN MILITARY REGIONS.
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8. THE PROVINCIAL RESPONSE

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CENTRAL DECISIONS ON TENG AND HUA TOURCHED OFF AN ALMOST IMMEDIATE RESPONSE THROUGHTOUT CHINA'S PROVINCES. FOLLOWING PEKING'S LEAD, ALL 29 PROVINCIAL-LEVEL UNITS HAVE HELD MASS RALLIES IN SUPPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS. WITH ATTENDANCE RANGING IN MANY CASES UP TO HALF A MILLION OR MORE. PROVINCIAL LEADERS, MOST OF WHOM HAVE MAINTAINED A VERY LOW PROFILE SINCE THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TENG BEGAN, TURNED OUT EN MASSE IN SUPPORT OF THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP. LIKE THE MILITARY LEADERS. THEY INCLUDED A NUMBER OF PROMINENT TNEG ASSOCIATES AND RECENT REHABILITEES. OF THE 29 PROVINCIAL CHIEFS OF ACTING CHIEFS, ALL BUT FOUR APPEARED AT RALLIES AND GAVE SPEECHES. TWO OF THE MISSING FOUR, KIANGSI'S CHIANG WEI-CHING AND CHEKIANG'S TAN CHI-LUNG. HAD ALREADY BEEN REPORTED UNDER POSTER ATTACK, AND THEIR ABSENCE MAY INDICATE THAT THEY ARE IN POLITICAL DIFFICULTY. OTHER RECENT WALL-POSTER TARGETS, HOWEVER, TOOK PROMINENT PART IN THE RALLIES AND APPEARED TO BE IN FULL COMMAND. ANOTHER NOTABLE ABSENTEE WAS MAO'S NEPHEW, LIAONING PARTY SECRETARY MAO YUAN-HSIN. YOUNG MAO IS A WELL-KNOWN SUPPORTER OF "NEW SOCIALIST THINGS." WHO HAS REPORTEDLY BEEN CRITICEZED RECENTLY FOR SPENDING TOO MUCH TIME IN PEKING. HIS ABSENCE FROM THE LIAONING RALLIES IS CURIOUS, BUT CONSISTENT WITH THE RECENT NONAPPEARANCE OF PEKING'S LEADING LEFTISTS (PARA 4). CONFIDENTIAL

9. MASS ORGANIZATION CONGRESSES IN OFFING?
PREPARATORY GROUPS FOR NATIONAL CONGRESSES OF THE TRADE
UNION, COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE, AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION
WERE MENTIONED IN AN APRIL 13 NCNA LISTING OF BUREAUS
SUBORDINATE TO THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THESE THREE
ORGANIZATIONS COMPLETED PREPARATORY MEETINGS JUST OVER A
YEAR AGO (75 WR 13), AND RUMORS HAVE CROPPED UP OCCASIONALLY
SINCE THEN THAT THEIR CONGRESSES ARE IMMINENT. RENEWED
MENTION OF THE PREPARATORY GROUPS MAY SIGNAL A NEW EFFORT
TO DISPOSE OF THIS ITEM OF PENDING BUSINESS. LIMITED
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10. THE UNITED STATES
CHINA'S DOMESTIC MEDIA ORGANS HAVE REVEALED FOR THE FIRST
TIME THE PRESIDENT'S APPOINTMENT OF THOMAS S. GATES AS THE
NEW CHIEF OF USLO BY REPLAYING THE PRESIDENTIAL CONGRATULATORY
MESSAGE TO HUA KUO-FENG (SEE PARA 15). THE FULL TEXT OF

THE FORD MESSAGE WAS ALSO FRONT-PAGED BY THE PRC-OWNED TA KUNG PAO IN HONG KONG ON APRIL 14, THE SAME DATE THAT THE PAPER CARRIED A USIS RELEASE REPORTING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS IN DALLAS CONCERNING THE NIXON REPORT OF HIS VISIT TO CHINA. UNCLASSIFIED

11. VISITORS--FUTURE AND PRESENT

WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF HUA KUO-FENG AS PREMIER, THE PRC IS RETURNING TO ITS NORMAL HEAVY VOLUME OF HIGH-RANKING FOREIGN VISITORS, FOR THE PAST THREE AND A HALF MONTHS, FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE LAOTIAN PRIME MINISTER HAVE BEEN THE ONLY HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL FIGURES TO VISIT PEKING. IN THE PAST WEEK, PLANS FOR EIGHT VISITS HAVE BEEN FINALIZED. THE FIRST TWO VISITS, BOTH OF WHICH SHOULD PROVIDE AMPLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PRC'S ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA. WILL BE THE EGYPTIAN VICE PRESIDENT WHO WILL VISIT "SHORTLY," AND THE US HOUSE AMRED SERVICES COMMITTEE DELEGATION, WHICH IS TO ARRIVE IN PEKING APRIL 17 THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER IS DUE IN PEKING APRIL 28; THE NEW BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY WILL PRESUMABLY ARRIVE ABOUT MAY 4: THE SINGAPORE PRIME MINISTER IS SCHEDULED ON MAY 10; AND THE PAPUA NEW GUINEA PRIME MINISTER IN LATE MAY. THE AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER WILL GO TO CHINA IN JUNE AND FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER HAS ANNOUNCED A SUMMER VISIT. THESE, PLUS PRESUMABLY SOME ADDITIONAL THIRD WORLD VISITORS, WILL GIVE THE NEW PREMIER CONSIDERABLE EXPOSURE AND DEMONSTRATE THAT CHINA REMAINS ACTIVE IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. CONFIDENTIAL

12. THIS WEEK IN PEKING ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON SOUTHEAST ASIA WITH THAI AND FILIPINO DELEGATIONS RECEIVING HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION. THE FILIPINO FINANCE SECRETARY MET WITH VICE PREMIER KU MU, FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER LI CHIANG, AND FINANCE MINISTER CHANG CHING-FU DURING HIS VISIT TO PEKING. THE THAI SCHOLAR DELEGATION WAS ENTERTAINED BY NPC VICE CHAIRMAN TAN CHIN-LIN, SENIOR VICE FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG, AND THE PEOPLE'S CONFIDENTIAL.

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ASSOCIATION FOR FRIENDHSIP WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES' PRESIDENT WANG PING-NAN. THE NEWLY ARRIVED PHILIPPINE AMBASSADOR PRESENTED HIS CREDENTIALS TO CHU TEH, WHILE THE NEW THAI AMBASSADOR MET WITH VICE PREMIER CHI TENG-KUEI (NCNA, APRIL 7-13). UNCLASSIFIED

13. EGYPT-SOVIET

IN ADDITION TO THE ANNOUNCEMENT (CARRIED IN THE PRC-OWNED HONG KONG PRESS BUT NOT IN NCNA) OF THE EGYPTIAN VICE PRESIDENT'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO PEKING, WHICH WAS PRESUMABLY AGREED TO DURING THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON THE VP APRIL 7, THE PRC MEDIA HAS CONTINUED TO FOCUS HEAVILY ON

THE SOVIETS' DIFFICULTIES IN EGYPT. AN NCNA COMMENTARY REHASHED THE SIGNING OF THE SOVIET-EGYPTIAN TREATY, CLAIMING THAT PODGORNY HAD FORCED THE TREATY ON PRESIDENT SADAT AND THAT THE SOVIETS HAD IMMEDIATELY ACTED CONTRARY TO THE TERMS OF THE TREATY. A EPOPLE'S DAILY COMMENTARY CONDEMNED THE TASS GENERAL DIRECTOR FOR HIS ATTACKS ON THE EGYPTIANS FOLLOWING TERMINATION OF THE TREATY. THROUGHOUT THE WEEK, NCNA REPLAYED STATEMENTS AND ARTICLES FROM CAIRO BUT, AS USUAL, THE PRC MEDIA CARRIED NO CLAIMS THAT THE PRC WOULD SUPPLY EQUIPMENT OR PROVIDE OTHER ASSISTANCE DESPITE SUCH INDICATIONS FROM EGYPTIAN LEADERS (NCNA, APRIL 7-14). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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14. EUROPE AND THE SOVIETS

THE EUROPEAN REBUFF TO SOVIET EFFORTS TO FOLLOW UP THE CSCE BY CONVENING IN THE USSR AN ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESS ON ENERGY HAS BEEN APPROVINGLY NOTED IN PRC MEDIA. NCNA'S REPORT ON THE UN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE'S REJECTION OF THE SOVIETS' PROPOSAL HIGHLIGHTED THE ALBANIAN DELEGATION'S NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON THE RESULTS OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE AND ITS ASSERTION THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE SOUGHT TO USE CSCE DECISIONS TO STRENGTHEN MOSCOW'S ECONOMIC POSITION. ON THE SAME DAY, A COMPANION PIECE IN NCNA CITED REMARKS BY VARIOUS SPEAKERS AT THE RECENT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSION ON EEC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND CEMA COUNTRIES, CRITICIZING THE SOVIET ACTIONS AND ATTITUDE VIS-A-VIS THE HELSINKI AGREEMENTS AND URGING VIGILANCE AGAINST SOVIET PLOTS. IN A SIMILAR MANNER, AN NCNA REPORT ON THE LATEST SESSION OF THE VIENNA TALKS ON THE REDUCTION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUOPE HIT HARDEST AT THE SOVIETS, BUT ALSO ATTRIBUTED THE LACK OF HEADWAY TO THE "EVIL DESIGNS" CHERISHED BY BOTH SUPERPOWERS (NCNA, NOVEMBER 9 AND 11). UNCLASSIFIED

15. CONGRATULATIONS FOR PREMIER HUA

DURING THE WEEK, PRC MEDIA HAVE CARRIED THE TEXTS OF CONGRATU-LATORY MESSAGES TO PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG FROM PRESIDENT FORD AND OTHER HEADS OF STATE. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, THERE HAS BEEN NO MENTION OF ANY MESSAGE FROM THE SOVIETS. MEANWHILE, THE PRO-CUMMUNIST HSIN WAN PAO IN HONG KONG HAS ACCORDED BANNER HEADLINE TREATMENT TO THE CANADIAN MESSAGE AND PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S INVITATION TO HUA TO VISIT CANADA, WHICH THE PAPER STATED WAS THE FIRST SUCH INVITATION TO BE RECEIVED BY THE NEW CHINESE PREMIER (NCNA, APRIL 7-13). UNCLASSIFIED

16. LAW OF THE SEA
WITH THE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE IN PROGRESS, NCNA HAS
CONCENTRATED ON TWO POINTS: THE RIGHT OF INNOCENT PASSAGE
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THROUGH STRAITS AND THE FREEDOM OF MARINE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. WHILE SUPPORTING INNOCENT PASSAGE, THE PRC REPRESENTATIVE DEMANDED ADVANCE NOTIFICATION AND PERMISSION FOR MILITARY VESSELS. ON RESEARCH, NCNA DIFFERENTIATED BETWEEN THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF THE RIGHT FOR ALL STATES TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AND THE US APPROACH CALLING FOR A "QUALIFIED ORGANIZATIONZ TO CONDUCT SUCH RESEARCH, BUT EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO BOTH PROPOSALS. IN BOTH CASES, NCNA CONDEMNED THE SUPERPOWERS JOINTLY THEN WENT ON TO BLAST ONLY THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR POSITIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRC MEDIA HAVE COMPLETELY IGNORED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S NEW YORK LAW OF THE SEA SPEECH AND ALSO HAVE NOT CITED ANY COMMENTS BY AN AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES, ALTHOUGH SOVIET STATEMENTS

WERE QUOTED. THEY HAVE ALSO FAILED TO PROVIDE ANY CONSTRUCTIVE PORPOSALS OF THEIR OWN. THUS, LAW OF THE SEA REMAINS ANOTHER ISSUE ON WHICH THE PRC IS ENDEAVORING TO ENCOMPASS THE VARIOUS PROPOSALS OF THE THIRD WORLD, REPLAYING COMMENTS BY THIRD WORLD SPOKESMEN AND IGNORING THE REAL DIFFERENCES SEPARATING THIRD WORLD GOVERNMENTS ON THE PROBLEMS (NCNA, APRIL 6-11). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE CROSS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED Concepts: POLITICAL SUMMARIES

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 14 APR 1976 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976HONGK04251

Document Number: 1976HONGK04251 Document Source: CORE Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A Film Number: D760141-1009

From: HONG KONG Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760463/aaaacbts.tel Line Count: 524

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Office: ACTION EA Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 10

Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a Reference: n/a

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Authority: BoyleJA

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 31 MAR 2004

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by BoyleJA>

Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MÁY 2006

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA NO. 15 TABLE OF CONTENTS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, CH To: STATE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006